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EDITORIALS
- *The Responsibility of the Zionist Convention*
- *France Points the Way*
- *The Protestant Problem*

THE WAR TO ANNIHILATE THE JEWS— THE SECOND PHASE
by Abraham G. Duker

A JEWISH REPORTER IN SEARCH OF A RABBI
by Bertram A. Rosenberg

RANDOM THOUGHTS *by M. M. K.*

REALITIES AND VALUES

CORRESPONDENCE

dicated to the advancement of Judaism as a religious civilization, to the upbuilding of ael's ancient homeland, and to the furthe ance of universal freedom, justice and peace.

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EDITORIALS

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ZIONIST CONVENTION

As the Zionist Organization of America prepares to meet in convention, the agonizing deadlock continues in the negotiations of the British with the Jews and with the Arabs. Terrorism breaks out as frequently as ever; refugees arriving in Haifa are regularly transferred to other boats and shipped to Cyprus; the "informal" talks have produced no changes in the situation and "formal" talks are not scheduled to begin again until December. The Agency leaders remain in prison, rumors circulate, and the displaced Jews watch the winter relentlessly approaching.

In the meantime, American Zionists have shot their bolt. They have hinted darkly of Election Day . . . and President Truman has taken the hint. He has again asked Mr. Attlee for the admission of one hundred thousand refugees into Palestine. Did Mr. Attlee reply? Did Mr. Truman counter-reply? There are reports of such correspondence, but no indication that it is getting us anywhere. Nobody seems to know.

Is this all that American Zionists can contribute to the solution of this painful problem? Is there not some new approach to the entire question which might set the Zionist movement once again in its great moral frame, in the context of world significance? Is it not possible for American Zionists to help the liberals of the world to see that Zionism represents more than Jewish refugeeism, more even than Jewish statehood? Can they not themselves see that it is indeed a *messianic* movement, involved in the magnificent epic of emancipation for millions of enslaved human beings throughout a large area of the earth, and that persistent and determined effort on behalf of the Zionist program derives its full significance from the vision of an awakened Middle East?

The first step toward the realization that Zionism is the vanguard of a liberation movement for millions is the recognition that Great Britain today is systematically and ruthlessly liquidating Zionism. The British are not maintaining armies in Palestine, and disarming the populace, merely to retaliate against acts of terror. On the contrary, the acts of terror must be subconsciously welcomed by the British because they afford the armies of occupation the pretext Great Britain needs, and the distraction from the real issue, which she desires. Acts of terror by Jews in Eretz Yisrael are to be profoundly resented by Jews, not only on moral grounds, but on strategic grounds

as well. They becloud the issue, which is: life or death for Zionism.

The next step is to try to understand why Britain seeks to liquidate the *yishuv*. In a recent number of *Commentary*, Victor Eppstein presents a lucid case. He shows that the only way to explain the joint opposition of Britain and "the" Arabs to Zionism is to point to the need for keeping Palestine de-industrialized, thus preserving the monopoly of British industry, and the privileges of the landed Arab aristocracy. If Jews had come to Palestine to live in filth and disease, plowing with the wooden plow, they would not have been resented by anyone, no matter what their numbers. But their numbers become a jeopardy to entrenched imperialism and feudalism when factories are built and trade flourishes. Does this not explain why such wonderful schemes as those Lowdermilk expounds, schemes like the Jordan Valley Authority, fall on deaf ears? Zionists show how Palestine can be made a model land, absorbing millions; to the British, this is war against themselves. Having understood this, Zionists should then understand why British policy seeks as well to exclude Russia from this part of the world, another threat to British monopoly.

The United States government, sympathetic to the British, acquiesces in their policy because American leaders see no other alternative for them. American leaders, accepting the basic assumptions of British existence, are hard put to it to insist upon a Zionist program in Palestine. They, therefore, content themselves, and try to content Zionists, by appealing for a certain number of immigration certificates, not enough to change the essential contours of Palestine.

Should it therefore not be the function of American Zionists to concentrate their fire on the *foreign policy of this country that condones basic postulates* which throttle not only Jewish development in Palestine, but the development of millions of disinherited Moslems as well? Should not our economists and statesmen see in the present deadlock the hour of decision, the hour when Zionism is threatened with liquidation unless some alternative plan is offered to the present imperial system? The issue must be brought into sharp focus. It is no longer a question of refugees, or of political pressure at the polls; it is a question of how England can be shown that her survival is compatible with Palestine's revival, with the revival of the entire Middle East.

According to some observers, the Zionist cause does not "stand as high in world public opinion" as it did six months ago. People are forgetting about the displaced persons, and they are repelled by the acts of terror. Liberal opinion will be alienated more and more unless some new direction is taken. To achieve this new direction requires some such reorientation as we have suggested. In addition, however, there must be a high sense of dedication on the part of Zionist leaders. Personalities must be subordinated and excessive partisanship curbed. May the Zionist Convention and the Congress to come bring forth the needed vision and consecration.

FRANCE POINTS THE WAY

WE all know from the newspapers that France has adopted a new constitution. The papers have given us information of the political alignment, of which parties favored and which opposed the constitution. But, with very few exceptions indeed, they have said nothing or next to nothing about the content and spirit of the new constitution.

PM is one of the few exceptions. I

ed attention, in a story by Albert tsch in its October 15th issue, to the that "at a time when democratic ts are threatened in our own land elsewhere," France has adopted a ttitution which is "the most demo- ic constitutional document since the ting of the American Bill of Rights the French Declaration of the Rights Man in 1789." The article quotes ex- ively from the Preamble to the Con- tion and from Title One of the stitution itself.

What is significant in these quotations nat they reveal a clear understanding what is the major internal political blem that confronts every nation to- . That problem is how to insure the ximum of economic cooperation while guarding the rights and liberties of the vidual. Beside protecting the civil rties guaranteed by our own Federal stitution and the various state con- tions, it lays down principles similar those for which President Roosevelt ded in his speech advocating what called an "Economic Bill of Rights." ncluded among the "political, econo- and social principles" laid down in Preamble of the French Constitution the following: equal rights for wo- n; the duty of every man to work and right of every man to obtain em- yment without being subject to discri- nation "by reason of his origins, his nions or his beliefs"; the right of the rker to join a trade union of his choice bargain collectively; government nership of "all property and all busi- ses whose exploitation has acquired characteristics of a national public vice or a monopoly"; national gua- tee of "health, security, rest, and lei- e" for children, mothers and the aged; nmunal support for those unable to rk; "equal access of the child and lt to instruction, to vocational train- ing and to culture, through free and secular public education."

Of interest to Americans is the follow- ing quotation from Title One of the Constitution: "The motto of the Repub- lic is: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Its principle is: government of the people, for the people and by the people."

How the Constitution will work out in practice remains to be seen. The real constitution of any country is always very different from its documentary formula- tion. The Constitution of the United States, for example, never envisaged the party system, which is undeniably a part of the fundamental structure of our gov- ernment. But national constitutions are important beyond their use as instru- ments of government. They are expres- sions of the nation's ideal of itself in a particular juncture of its history. They influence the thinking and feeling of later generations and are prophetic of the di- rection in which a nation is moving. The adoption by France of its present con- stitution is thus a heartening omen at a time when heartening omens are tragic- ally few.

To us Americans, however, the ten- dency toward social democracy in France, arouses, by comparison, some dishearten- ing reflection on tendencies in our own country. We cannot but deplore our own surrender of leadership in the struggle for democracy. The tragi-comic spectacle of the President's speech on decon- trolling meat prices, which tried to make his surrender to the packing in- terests appear an honorable achievement of his administration, is symptomatic. It reveals an almost complete breakdown of the hard-won recognition of govern- ment's responsibility to protect the public from the greed of predatory interests. The social idealism of the New Deal and the Roosevelt era seems doomed to liquidation. The "normalcy" of the Hard-

ing administration has returned. Inflation has broken all controls. The mad rush for private wealth in disregard of the public interest will go on until it hurls us into the abyss, unless it is checked by a vigorous and prompt rallying of all liberal forces regardless of party.

The President has blamed Congress and the profiteers, but we fear the blame must be more widely distributed. The American people (for we still are a government of the people) has itself to blame. The Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor seems hardly more socially enlightened than the big business interests that have been clamoring for the removal of social controls over our economic life. It has come out for the retention of restrictions on immigration, disregarding the tragic plight of the many who need to emigrate if they are to live in peace and security. It is bent on retaining for its members a monopoly of good jobs, no matter how many of their fellow workers in Europe perish or are reduced to slavery. For similar reasons, it opposes "compulsory governmental" legislation for fair employment practices by states as well as by the federal government, although it tries to save face by advocating measures that rely solely on persuasion, that compel nobody and effect nothing. Whatever else Big Business may monopolize, it has no monopoly of economic selfishness.

It pains us as Americans to admit the fact, but our country today is not leading the forces of world democracy, despite sanctimonious expressions of abhorrence by Americans for the totalitarianism of the Soviet Communist regime. To exert in behalf of democracy the tremendous influence which our power gives us, we must attempt to do what France is attempting. We must seek a democratic solution of the problem for which Russia has sought a totalitarian commu solution—the problem of economic sec ity for all. Franklin Delano Roose understood this, and under his leaders we were on our way to realizing our g But the Roosevelt-haters are in the s dle now. Even the President has capi lated to them and has forfeited his mo leadership of the country. Where is leader who will set our country again the road to a social democracy, the ro to which the French constitution poin

THE PROTESTANT PROBLEM

THE recent report of t Brooklyn Church a Mission Federation, "Brooklyn Prot tantism," raises some of the fundamen issues which Americans must face in r gard to the activities of religious grou The Mission Federation report is the r sult of a survey undertaken because the apparent decline of Brooklyn Prot tantism. The Protestant population Brooklyn has fallen from a percentage 51.9 per cent in 1900 to some 29 per ce in 1946. These years witnessed an infl of Jews, who now constitute the large segment of the population, 37 per cen The Catholic element has, in propo tion, dropped slightly from 34.3 per ce to 32 per cent, in the forty-six year i terval. The decline in Protestant popul tion has been accompanied by a fallin off in church membership and atten ance and a disintegration of Protesta influence in the community. The Broo lyn Protestant problem, as seen by th committee which conducted the surve is a twofold struggle against secularis and the pressure of a non-Protesta majority.

Interesting indeed is the framewo within which solutions are suggeste There is a distinction made between "r sponsible secularism," which is ready t cooperate with religion, and a corrodin

ılarism, which threatens, both Chris-
ıity and Judaism. "Against the com-
nity disintegration the forces of re-
nsible secularism are struggling
ng with religion. But the secular lead-
in large measure are themselves men
h Christian insight acting in various
c and social capacities, and are con-
uently in a position to enter into di-
t relations with the churches and their
ivities." The survey committee then
s on to suggest greater cooperation in
ense of religion on an inter-faith basis
l to call upon the Protestant churches
work together as a unit. In brief, the
ssion Federation program calls for the
ıblishment of an organized Protestant
nmunity consisting of church, social
l civic groups.

The need which Protestantism is find-
for community organization has been
ressed for some years on a national
e by the proponents of the Ecumeni-
movement. Last spring, in a series
articles in *The Christian Century* on
state of Protestantism in America,
arles Clayton Morrison contrasted the
ty of Catholicism with the disintegra-
ı in the ranks of Protestantism. He
ed for an all-embracing Protestant
wship. It remains to be seen what
pe such Protestant community organ-
ion will assume and how successful it
be in strengthening Protestantism.
o of interest is the effect on the
testant conception of religion likely to
ılt from the participation of secular-
in the affairs of the Protestant com-
nity.

ews to whom Judaism means the civil-
ion of the Jewish people, should take
rt from the efforts of the Protestant
ority to establish a Protestant com-
nity organization. It is encouraging
t the majority religious group in
erica openly recognizes the need for
ing religion to the secular interests of
life. Protestantism is in the process of evolving a broad community life in which religion will be only one facet of a group culture. Jews have always had such a community and our problem, in the main, is merely one of creating an efficient, democratic organization. Protestants, on the other hand, are faced with this difficulty: Christianity, since its inception, has been based on a series of theological dogmas; since these are the essential constituting principles of denominations, a rationale for communal identity among denominations with conflicting tenets of belief is lacking. Judaism, however, is the outgrowth of the life of a single, identifiable people which recognizes its solidarity despite differences in theology among its adherents. Secularists are thus natural participants in Jewish communal life; Protestantism still must find a way of making it possible for secularists to participate in its communal affairs without subscribing to its dogmas.

It is the theological basis of Protestantism which causes Jews some concern, and which is also likely to prove the undoing of the Protestant effort at community organization. The Survey Committee states that "The facts presented call upon the Protestant churches to carry on a continuous process of vigorous evangelism directed to all sorts and conditions of men, irrespective of language, nationality, racial or religious backgrounds." This implies that Protestantism still looks upon other religious groups, not as legitimate religious communities entitled to self-development, but as fields for missionary activity. Other groups are tolerated, but since they do not possess religious truth, they must be constantly bombarded with propaganda to get them to see the light. Jews must resist such evangelistic imperialism and fight for the concept of pluralism in religious life. If such missionary zeal is to be the spark igniting

the fuel of the Protestant communal mechanism, it is hard to see how Protestant secularists can permit themselves to join hands with Protestant religionists. On our part, we, too, would do well to avoid formulating Jewish communal organization on any theological basis that might alienate devoted but secularist Jews.

REALITIES AND VALUES

A JTA DISPATCH FROM LUNEburg tells of the indignation aroused by the absence of the British military authorities from the unveiling of a memorial to Jewish prisoners of concentration camps who were killed in the war and buried in the near-by woods. The ceremony was attended by representatives of the German municipal authorities, as well as by the representatives of the Belsen Jewish Central Committee. However, let us try to judge the British military authorities *lekhaf zekhut*. Perhaps they were ashamed to come. Perhaps they had not the audacity publicly to express sympathy with persecuted Jews of the Nazi concentration camps at a time when the British government was herding Jews in concentration camps in Cyprus for the offense of trying to return to their lawful national home. Perhaps they could not forget that those to whom the monument was being dedicated might, but for British perfidy, be living happily in Eretz Yisrael today. Maybe, after all, it was not callousness of heart but a sensitively disturbed conscience that forbade them to pay a hollow tribute of sympathy for Jewish suffering. At any rate, our own feeling is that, under the circumstances, the presence of the British military authorities would only have profaned the solemn occasion.

▼

PROFESSOR GEORGE SANTAyana, in a press interview in which he commented on the discords at the Par peace conference, said that the peace wa being made by "too many professors— like myself—who keep repeating the wor 'democracy'." He also said that Presider Truman's demands for Jewish immigra tion to Palestine were wrong, that "It better to assimilate refugee Jews int other countries like the United States an Australia." We are not aware that th peace is being made by philosophers. T us it seems that it is being made by ger erals and power politicians. But if it we to be made by philosophers like Profe sor Santayana, we doubt whether would be any better. Profesor Santayar is esthetically very sensitive and intelle tually very subtle, but when he speaks glibly about issues that are matter of li and death to great numbers of people, h demonstrates that philosophical acume is not necessarily correlated with mor passion. "Democracy"—to multitudes forgotten men everywhere—and "Zio ism"—to Jews everywhere—are not ju words with which philosophers amu themselves in academic hairsplitting. philosophy cannot contribute towa meeting the expectations evoked by the words, let the philosophers have th good grace not to profane them in frivo ous talk.

▼

WE ARE GLAD TO SEE TH problem of Jewish self-discipline comir to the fore. In the October 10 issue *Intermountain Jewish News*, published Denver, Colo., Robert S. Gamzey su gests utilizing for purposes of Jewish sel discipline the industries and profession divisions of the Allied Jewish Campaig He also recommends a specific task f them to do, in collaboration, of cours with the Anti-Defamation League whic initiated the movement for Jewish sel discipline. It appears that some Jewi shopkeepers reopened their shops in th

-afternoon of Yom Kippur. Mr. mzey says: "Had they organized, by tual agreement they could have easily ided to wait until the fast was ken." He declares that the Jewish pkeepers are "the realistic representa- s of the Jews to the non-Jews." That why, regardless of their personal in- ations or religious attitudes, they must made to adopt and adhere to codes ethics that will forestall any *hillul hem* and protect the dignity and or of the Jewish community.

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THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBER- Union has asked the United States reme Court to decide whether con- ntious objection to war must be based religious belief. The issue was brought in the case of one, Herman Berman Los Angeles, who was sentenced in 2 to three and a half years in jail for using induction when his draft board allowed his claim of conscientious ob- ion. Berman had no religious affi- ion but declared that his social views e his religion. If freedom of con- nce justifies exempting from military vice a religious person who opposes , there is no reason why it should not ally exempt a conscientious atheist ifist. We are glad that the Civil Liber- Union has taken an interest in the . It is undeniably true that atheists be as conscientious as religionists and courts should recognize that truth.

▼

THE COMMISSION ON LAW Social Action of the American Jew- Congress is interesting itself in a legal involving Jim-Crowism in the public ools of California. It appears that xican and other Latin-American chil- n have been segregated in special ools. This has been declared illegal by federal court but the case was ap- pealed to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, and the CLSA has filed a brief as *amicus curiae* urging that the decision of the lower court be upheld. That decision was the first in any federal court to maintain that segregation, even in the absence of discrimination, violates federal law. The CLSA brief contends that segregation imputes inferiority to the segregated minority, is psychologically harmful, results in educational, economic and cultural inequality and violates the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, as well as international treaties to which the United States is a party.

▼

THE CANADIAN JEWISH CONgress has prepared a Memorandum on Migration for submission to the International Labor Office. The opening passage in the Memorandum contains a statement which we would like to see widely publicized. It reads: "In the monograph on 'The Displacement of Population in Europe,' published by the ILO in 1943, Dr. Eugene M. Kulischer stated: 'The attempts made before the present war to revive migration have shown that its revival will depend in future on the existence of an international organization capable of coordinating the interests of the countries of emigration and of immigration.' True as this statement is, it is no less clear that, unlike the transfer of inanimate resources . . . *the migration of human beings necessitates proper regard for the welfare of the migrants themselves*, in addition to the interests of the countries of emigration and immigration." We have italicized the words that bear the crux of the Memorandum's message. We hope that the Assembly of U.N. now meeting in New York will take them to heart when it grapples with the problem of the displaced persons.

The War to Annihilate the Jews—the Second Phase

A MEMORANDUM TO JEWISH LEADERS *

By ABRAHAM G. DUKER

THE obvious connection of the Palestine problem with power politics is being shouted from the house-tops, and the partnership between the United States and Great Britain on Near East policy is taken for granted. It is essential therefore to judge two important aspects of this alliance, namely, its promise to bring about a stable, dependable and democratic Near East and the effect on the status of the Jews everywhere should this promise prove deceptive.

The Folly of the Anglo-American Near-East Policy

If we are to assume that, in the long run, ideologies count in deciding social and political developments, we ought to understand that, in the present struggle for power in the Near East, Britain is bound to emerge the loser, and with her, also the United States. Our possessing the secret to the manufacture of atomic weapons will not prevent this. For it is doubtful whether we are ready to use those weapons, or whether we shall remain the sole possessors of the secret of the atomic bomb. The tie-up of British Near East policy with Arab reaction is obvious. British and American oil interests offer nothing to the Arab and Iranian masses, ground under the heels of the effendis and kinglets. Moreover, any grants or loans by the United States and Britain for the "improvement" of the Arab standard of living are bound to land in the pockets of the wealthy Arab leadership. The recalcitrance of Egypt in her negotiations with England, the Arab admiration for the Nazi agent, Haj Amin al Husseini the Jerusalem ex-Mufti—all go to prove that if the grand design of the United States-British coalition is to retain control of the Near East, that design cannot be achieved by their present policy.

The British-dominated coalition is straining to maintain the feudal *status quo* in the Near East, by keeping Jews out of Palestine and by bringing back the former Nazi agents. Meanwhile, the Communist movement is becoming the spokesman for the interests of the masses throughout the Near East, except in Palestine, where there is still relative prosperity. It is Communist agents and Communist sponsored and led parties that are promising the masses surcease from their brutal exploitation by the land-owners, improvement in health and education, as well as autonomy for minorities like the Kurds and Assyrians. In contrast, the British have no forward-looking social policy in the Near East. They attempt to substitute for it the suppression of all progressive forces including the Jews. The entire British-dominated and satellite Arab Near East is fast on its way to becoming one great jail for all progressive elements. This under the guise of anti-Communism.

History has taught us that dynamic social trends and movements cannot be checked by arrests and suppression. The only weapon in the struggle of ideologies that has any chance of checking the successful spread of Communism is a

* We publish this article as a challenging statement worthy of earnest consideration. That does not mean that the editors are necessarily in agreement with all the views expressed in it.

y of democratization. That policy ves land reform and the use of na- resources such as oil to raise the dard of living of the masses rather to enrich kings and politicians, who lways ready to sell out to the highest er. By adopting this policy of demo- zation, Great Britain and the United ss would align progressive forces in Near East in support of the democ- ss. Zionism could play an important in this transformation of the dark East through drastic changes and ovements involving mass Jewish set- ent, transfer of Arab populations and ructive schemes such as the Jordan ey Authority. As the situation stands y, American subservience to British ership with its insistance on the *status* is bound to result in the eventual of American prestige and investments he Near East.

Anti-Jewish Policy of t Britain—the Palestine Front

nother by-product of the British ing of feudalism in the Near East e slow but steady emergence of what tens to be a British-led world-wide against the Jewish people wherever reside. Palestine is the center of in's anti-Jewish activities and Zion- is her propaganda catch-word, but range of these activities is certain to de Jews everywhere in their effect. blockade against the Jewish immi- ts to the Holy Land has started a n of reactions which is bound to lead ostile steps against the Jewish people ll parts of the world, unless Great in changes her policy radically and soon. There is ground to believe that British government is not only fully izant of the effect of its policy on Jews, but that it has deliberately set policy in motion along three fronts—Palestine, Europe and the New World, particularly the United States.

The British pattern of attack against the Palestinian Jews is obviously conceived along the following lines: In its determination to check the growth of the Jewish community, the British government will attempt to disarm the Haganah, arrest, deport or kill off the most militant leadership of the *yishuv,* its front line soldiers. Should Jewish resistance prove to be stubborn, villages and settlements are likely to be wiped out, à la Lidice. The military have threatened that they would employ aerial and artillery bombardment against Tel Aviv and other large Jewish settlements. Jews can be subdued by the mighty combination of army, navy and air force, without excessive loss of British or colonial manpower. Should the British and Palestine governments decide to take this final step, they will first concentrate on psychological warfare, on goading and provoking the Palestine Jews to desperate action, in order to supply the excuses for increasingly bloody and drastic acts against "terrorist" Jews.

Will the British stop at that? Having gone thus far, are they likely to tolerate a resentful concentrated Jewish community in the strategic Near East? Once disarmament and demoralization are brought about, might they not find it convenient to let the Arabs take over? "Revolts" of the Arab masses against "imperialism" could be subtly instigated under the direction of people like General Spears or Glubb Pasha. These revolts, however, would not really be aimed at the British. They would rather resemble the pogroms in Nazi-ruled Ukraine in 1942. There on the anniversary of the assassination of the White Guard Chieftain and pogromist Simon Petlura (Paris, 1926), Ukrainian collaborationists massacred hundreds of thousands of Jews in

a show of "popular indignation." The Germans merely supplied the propaganda and the arms and did not at that time participate in the outbursts, remaining mere onlookers. The fact is that Arab armies, official and unofficial, in Palestine and other countries are supplied with weapons by the British. Moreover, the present process of simultaneously disarming the Jews and arming the Arabs is strongly reminiscent of the preparations which preceded the 1929 riots. Haj Amin al Husseini, the Jerusalem ex-Mufti, who was saved by the British from the roster of the war criminals, may yet live to participate in the carrying out of his ambition to get rid of the Palestinian Jews, by any method, "however painful."

Great Britain's Assault on European Jewry

The Second Front of the British assault on the Jewish people is Eastern and Central Europe.

The immediate aim of Britain's policy is to stop the flight of the Jews from Poland, Slovakia and other countries. That is quite obvious in view of her inability to find homes for them. United States-British appeals to members of the U.N., that they admit their "shares" of Jewish immigrants are bound to be as fruitless as were the Evian and Bermuda Conferences, staged by our State Department and the British Foreign Office as a show of humanitarianism. They cost at least a million Jewish lives, the minimal number of Nazism's victims that could have easily been saved between Evian and Hungary's entry into the war. Can Jewish resettlement be successfully carried out by the International Refugee Organization, a continuation of the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees, whose British chiefs would be facing trial as accessories to murder if there were justice in this world. President Truman's plan to request legislation opening th doors of the United States will, at th very best, affect about 50,000 Jews ne year. But there is no assurance that Co gress will prove to be amenable to liberal immigration policy. The only ce tain effect of the proposal will be a te rific propagnda campaign against fo eigners and Jews.

Obviously there is little likelihood th immigration outlets will be available f 500,000 Jews, the minimal number must "escapees." British and Unite States support of the various "Christia Socialist" groups in East and Centr Europe, the Byrnes-Molotov contest i making promises to Germans, all hav emboldened the anti-Semitic elemen everywhere and have had a depressin effect on the Jewish status. The numbe of Jews in need of new homes is ther fore likely to rise to one million. Becaus the Jewish "escapees" cannot be permi ted to remain indefinitely in German Austria and Italy, the British will obv ously attempt to drive them back to the "homelands." To effect this "homeward march, they may try to starve the Jew in the camps. The joint administratio of the British-American zones would fa cilitate this move. The frayed nerves starving and unhappy survivors woul increasingly give up under the strai German police would provoke attack and American and British soldiers woul then come to the aid of the Teuton polic and bayonet the Jews. The amnestie Hitler youth under 27, the released S members, would take the hint and g the weapons. This combination woul make Germany so hot a place for th Jews, that they would prefer to go bac to Poland, where the "Red-dominated government and the Red Army woul seem to offer them at least partial pr tection.

This forced march back to death ca

t be achieved without preparing public inion in the democracies, particularly the United States, to tolerate such eatment of Hitler's victim No. 1. We n therefore expect the strengthening Britain's psychological warfare against e Jews of Europe. The displaced Jews ve already been labeled "dregs of the etto" by British defenders of the SS. neir reputation as underworld charac- rs has been built up by some UNRRA fficials. Their role as the precipitants of Third World War was hinted at as a ial balloon by General Morgan. Their aracter as "terrorists" has been sold by cotland Yard to the French people rough the dastardly libel of the Bevin ssassination "plot." Efforts will be made smear the Jewish D.P.'s as the ad- nce agents of Bolshevism. Their camps ill be portrayed as hotbeds of Com- unism. The "civilized democratic" pub- would thus be persuaded not to toler- e a group which would subject the new German democracy" to the infiltra- on of these outposts of the "barbarous ast," and, incidentally, not to open ors to such dangerous newcomers.

Upon their forced return "home," the ws would face the same hell that is iving them out today. Behind the "iron rtain," the populace, organized in the scist parties masquerading under the phonious epithet of "Christian So- alist," will be spurred on to anti-Semitic ogroms by fascist exiles abroad, who re operating with financial support of e democracies. Nor will the mob re- uire much prodding to complete Hit- r's job. In the West, the newspapers will ax indignant at the inability or un- illingness of the governments in ques- on to protect the Jews, just as the New ork *Times* did in the Hlond-Kielce case. hus the public in the free countries ould be taught to take for granted the azi and twentieth century British prin- ciple that Jewish life and Jewish property are worthless, a fitting prelude for the attack against the Jews in the free countries, the Third Front.

Anti-Semitic Propaganda as an Instrument of British Policy

British propagandists and their helpers are likely to become increasingly anti-Semitic rather than merely anti-Zionist. In consequence of Britain's Palestinian and D.P. policy as outlined above, the overwhelming majority of the Jews everywhere would be forced to view Britain as their enemy, just as Nazi Germany had been until V-E Day. How else can Jews regard a government which stood by supinely while Jews were being marched to the Nazi gas chambers, to the Rumanian and Hungarian slaughterhouses, a government which has been liberating SS members *en masse* and, to top it all, is handing over the Jews in Palestine to the mercies of the Mufti's Arab Nazis?

To minimize the effect of Jewish protest and to silence the conscience qualms of the British people themselves, the government is likely to employ anti-Jewish propaganda to effect its purpose. Hints of that war of words are to be found in Bevin's remarks about the dislike of New York for Jews, and the Jewish penchant for pushing to the head of the queue. Friendly Christians in contact with British officials in Washington have time and again told of the anti-Semitic character of the small talk in society circles, actively promoted by the emissaries from England. British propaganda agents, open or disguised, would probably first attempt to divide the Jews into "terrorist Zionists," on the one hand, and respectable non-Zionists on the other. Early nationalistic propaganda in Germany had succeeded in impressing the "native" German Jews with the notion that only the "inferior" East European Jews were the target of

anti-Semitic attacks. But British anti-Semites would be no more likely to stop at that point than the Nazis stopped at the extermination of the East European Jews. It will prove to be increasingly difficult to draw the line between Zionists and non-Zionists. Moreover, the decent, self-respecting non-Zionists are not likely to continue appeasing the British indefinitely.

Once embarked on a policy unacceptable to Jews, the British government might well discover that Jew-hatred can have additional uses in power politics. A war against the Soviet Union is bound to be most unpopular among many sectors of the population in democratic countries. These elements would have to be fought by the British government everywhere, even before hostilities are officially declared. The present war against the *yishuv* provides the British army with an opportunity for large scale maneuvers against an unfriendly population, the lessons of which it may one day utilize against rebellious populations in every large city of the world, including Liverpool and Glasgow, if men like Bevin are kept in power. Moreover, the propaganda campaign against Jews would provide the British government with a tactical weapon for psychological warfare against other anti-imperialist sectors of the various populations.

Even more threatening is the obvious use of the Jewish issue as a weapon against Communism. In preparation for a new war, the British government already committed in Palestine and Europe to the anti-Jewish side, is bound to make further uses of anti-Semitism. Therefore, the attempt by British propagandists and tacticians to identify Judaism with Communism should be viewed as a *probability* rather than a mere possibility. One can hardly conceive of a crusade against the Soviet Union with the aid of the vestiges of Fascism, of German, Polish and Magyar Nazism, (now masquerading under the label of Christian Socialists), of Franco Spain, Latin American reactionaries and the Moslem Brotherhood that would not attempt to use anti-Semitism as the cement to tie these forces together. For anti-Semitism would supply them with a common and ubiquitous enemy, with the promise of booty, and, what is equally important, with material for training in slaughter—the Jewish people.

Once it definitely decided to carry out to the limit its anti-Jewish policy in Palestine,the British government would thus almost inevitably be led to wage an out and out propaganda campaign against the Jews everywhere. All the Jews would then be driven to the wall by the British war of nerves. They would be portrayed as "materialists," "terrorists," "Communist agents" or the "ingredient which destroys Western civilization." *"Mein Kampf"* would, in effect, serve the British propagandists as their Bible, just as it had served all other anti-Jewish agitators. General Barker's racist non-fraternization order is a foretaste of this. True, Herbert Morrison disowned its intemperate language, but the Hitlerite general is still conducting anti-Jewish operations in Palestine. The present British Government being "Laborite" might also avail itself of the "Jewish capitalistic and international banker" argument, a common thesis of 19th century socialism. If it did not do so directly, for the Oxford-accented voice of Downing Street is rarely strident, it would avail itself of less scrupulous agents and allies, particularly those who cannot wait for the commencement of the atomic crusade against Bolshevism, and to whom Communism is synonymous with Judaism.

How Shall the Jewish People Respond?

In outlining these predictions of events likely to take place in view of Britain's

t recent record and tactics, we are y aware that many "reasonable" and passionate" persons will term them rmist and unreasonable. To this we y, that if there is one lesson to be ned from the events of the last few ades, it is that, in analyzing factors ile to Jews, the pessimistic view is ified. The pattern laid out by Hitler ns to indicate the direction of post- anti-Semitism. We dare not take for nted that the course of anti-Semitism r World War II is likely to be the e as that of the "mild" Tsarist 19th tury form, or of the 1936-37 Polish consisting of boycott and occasional roms. Once set loose, social forces not be controlled so easily. The mobs agitators are eyeing with envy the aborationists who gained so much n the expropriation of the Jews. The c of history would predict that any ization of anti-Semitism as state policy st repeat Hitler's fateful drive to the chambers.

hall we fool ourselves that the Bevins l Spears will have more regard for us ause we reside in Washington and not Jerusalem, in New York and not in dapest? Is not the capturing of public nion in the Western Hemisphere more portant to the British, though, doubt- more difficult, than the cultivation of cist elements in Europe and the Near st? And are not the Jewish people rywhere, being forced to become tain's Enemy No. 1, just as they were de to occupy that same position with ards to Nazi Germany? This trend of anti-Semitization of England through Labor Government must be stopped n, before it engulfs the entire world a campaign against Jews and with it inst human equality and democracy.

What is the way out?

While it is easier to diagnose a disease n to cure it, the diagnosis itself is part of the cure. Unfortunately, the Jewish people have lost their initiative in this war. This is natural, for who could have expected that the Labor Government would stoop so low? Besides, the British are by far stronger than we Jews are. To rely on resistance in Palestine, is to expect too much of the Yishuv, for strong though it is, it cannot resist Britain forever. European Jewry is another front, an important one because of its sheer desperation. But if there is any hope, it must come from Britain's American ally and from those elements in the British population that are immune to or can be immunized against the semi-official anti-Semitism of the present British government. There are in America and in other free countries, even in Great Britain itself, millions of Christians who are sick unto death of British imperialism, of what their coreligionists in Germany and other parts of Europe have done to Jews and who, once they grasp the true import of British tactics, which spell an end to democracy, social progress and world peace, will feel just as keenly about Britain's headlong stampede towards collaboration with fascism and reaction everywhere as do the understanding Jews. The task of Jewish leadership is to awaken these mighty forces for world order and social progress, to direct their resentment into an upsurge of moral indignation and political action against the British government and its American collaborators and thus to force a change first in America's and subsequently in England's policy.

We say *Jewish* rather than *Zionist* leadership, because we are facing a general democratic and Jewish defense task, not merely a Zionist protest or tactic. It is not merely a question of Zionism. Would the non-Zionist retain his silence if some other state were threatening to dispossess, disenfranchise and leave

defenseless a Jewish community of 600,000 elsewhere than in Palestine? But persecution of Jews is contagious and we have to defend our very lives and those of our children. American Jewry must be made conscious that the British are not likely to stop at Palestine in their attacks on Jews. Furthermore, the United States' support of Britain's unethical and foolhardy foreign policy, with its feudal colonialism and reactionary alliances, is bound to produce cynicism and deterioration in human values also in this country. The end result would be the total bankruptcy of democracy, and the resort of the more sensitive youth to dangerous "isms" as a solution of their social problems.

In a war of defense, the enemy must be fought along *all* fronts. He must be identified by what he stands for. A vicious anti-Semitic government, low enough to betray its own allies, to promote its betrayers such as the Mufti, and to hurl all its mighty forces against the weakest and most defenseless people on earth, is the enemy. British policy which has led to the annihilation of over six million Jews in Europe must be exposed. The names of Americans who collaborated in this inhuman and nefarious task of passive murder must be told to the public. Bartley C. Crum has merely scratched the surface. We must make it so that all decent people will be indignantly cognizant of the brutal and treasonable policy of Britain and will resent the efforts made to have this country join the war against the Jews, which, in the final analysis, is a continuation of Hitler's efforts. America and all decent elements in the British population must stop the British government from casting Western Civilization into the abyss.

Here we enter a complex of problems which it is not easy to unravel. Should the State Department persist in its present course of servility to Great Britain we should demand that the Administration give evidence of its support of the official stand of the Democratic Party by a change in the personnel of that Department. This test should be forced soon by the leaders of the Democratic Party. A reactionary policy can easily undo the results of progressive domestic social legislation, with further irrevocable deterioration as the consequence. While isolationism from participation in efforts at world peace would be a suicidal policy for America, the alternative to isolationism is not the present partnership with Britain in whose foreign policy the United States seemingly has so little to say. The Administration, which persists in sacrificing American ideals of democracy and freedom to British imperialism, must and can be brought to reason by public pressure.

The launching of the defense of the Jewish people and the mapping of the strategy for their survival is a task of first magnitude, which requires the best talents in the community and should not be monopolized by any particular group in American Jewry. Our defense organizations should immediately get together and draft such a plan of action before it is too late. Christian and Labor groups will join in the struggle once the educational efforts of the united Jewish body conducting the defense will begin to yield fruit. We have sufficient confidence in the sense of human dignity prevailing in the United States to believe that the general public will respond to our appeal and that our government will not for long disregard the voice of the people. A new strategy of total resistance must be planned, funds must be raised, the battle must be joined, lest there be a repetition of Auschwitz.

Jewish Reporter in Search of a Rabbi

By BERTRAM A. ROSENREBG

BEING urbanly cultured and used to locating Jewish Community of any place h a population over 10,000, it was h calculated hesitancy and the lone- ne recognition that this was the un- lliated "Northwest," that I stepped wn from the train into the center of town, the size of an expanded park- lot, where the watchman's shack had come a residential district.

My quest? To locate the rabbi, who tched over and was watched by a ttered flock. My purpose? To intro- ce him and the community to the wish Post.

A colored man, standing expressionless, imitation of a cigar-store Indian, alone ainst the things of stone and the inor- nic, raised a heavy arm toward a sign rked "Taxi." Elijah's Chariot could t have been more welcome, for the ble-strewn, forested path was a con- sion and was hard on my poor shoes. owever, I could merely shake my ad in disagreement, as I had no ad- ss nor any idea in which direction to n, or where I might eventually wind ..

How to proceed? The first thing to do, was told, by the indoctrination of my n common sense, was to attempt to scern the Star of David, atop, the syna- gue. Alas, as always, it was not our nner that showed against the sky. The xt best thing to do was to find a store th a Jewish name on the window ne. That done, I could enter into a mfortable conversation with the owner d be guided to the rabbinical sanctum.

Ah, but to reduce this maneuver to more realistic and efficacious level, I must pay close attention to those stores that are more likely to have a Jewish proprietor. You see I know my Jewish communal statistics very well. To find a kosher butcher would be the height of good fortune; next best, a tailor or fur- rier with the name ending in "berg" or "stein," and lastly a doctor, dentist or lawyer whose name had the slightest re- semblance to Sarah or Abraham.

And so I swept both sides of the street with incalculable care. I crept upon my way with the intended conspicuousness of a quarterback on a sneak play through the center of the line. I was stopped by a sign "Ladies' Tailor, Gentlemen, Stirnweiss;" no, this was not conclusive enough. Farther on was a doctor "Nathan Tucker;" no, this was certainly inappro- priate; a candy and drug store, "Eugene Melamuder;" no, not altogether without reasonable doubt; and so on down Main Street, until that lane of business was abruptly terminated by the yawn of the open spaces.

I turned around. The first recognition signs had failed. Now I must try the second. The second was to enter those stores that might be Jewishly owned (ac- cording to M. Karpf's statistics), even though their names were not visible on the window panes. I might peer into the proprietor's face, perhaps espy his wife, and if reasonably assured, initiate a con- versation. On other occasions I had usu- ally found that the women in the case most naturally give facial, conversational or gesticular evidence of their nationality, while the men fall less into the pattern of a "Jewish *ponim*."

Have you ever plucked at a sunflower and recited "she loves me; she loves me

not"? Well, that would have been as effective a method as trying to discover by the facial contours of those I saw, whether they were members of my *"mishpohah."*

No, this was no good. Of all the egregious fools! Lo and behold, haven't they a phone book in this puss-in-the-corner berg? And phone books have names, and names have Jewish prefixes and suffixes, sometimes the whole body may be Jewish. Let's see, "Goldberg?" no. "Stein?" "Cohen?" no. No, this would take up indeterminable and patient effort which the crowd piling up alongside my cheek waiting to use the book would not tolerate.

Does a rabbi live somewhere? Sure! He must have a house and that house must be built upon some ground, and that ground and that house are listed in "Real Estate." A gray-haired, well corseted lady, built up by a hat, looking like a Don Quixote lancing the windmill, and built down, by a long ancient dress, said with phonetic perfection, "Yes?"

"I wonder if you could tell me," (I was gauging her ancestral background, and judging whether she might not have the earnest conviction that 'all people no matter who are human beings'), "where I could locate the . . . Jewish religious leader in this community?" "You mean Rabbi X," she unhesitatingly divulged, "Why, just a minute, and I'll get that information for you. I'll find out to what church he belongs, and where he lives."

She motioned for me to be seated, and began searching through her files. "To what church he belongs," she had said. Then certainly she was not one of our people, but neither did she throw stones.

"Oh, yes, here it is," she revealed in triumph, "Rabbi X's phone number is (such and such) and Rabbi X's address is (such and such). He is a fine man. Only the other night the group met at the Temple and we all had a wonderful time."

"Are you a member of his congregation?" I inquired, puzzled as to whether she might not indeed be a "next of kin."

"Mercy, no, I'm an Episcopalian," she laughed, "but we often go down to the rabbi's church to enjoy ourselves."

She offered me her phone, but I refused, bowing out with a profusion of "thanks" and an effusion of regrets for "taking up so much of your time."

"Wait a minute, young man," she said, "if the rabbi isn't home or at his church, you call the Weinsteins, they'll tell you where he may be."

I kicked myself all the way to the phone booth. Why had I been so circuitous, so cautious, in making my inquiries, in the first place? Why skulk and peer and interpret statistics, and disguise and try to blend myself into familiar settings, as if I were one of Moses' spies searching out the land?

What indeed was I doing?

I was that frail creature who, unawares, dances to the tune of the anti-Semitic cacophony and performs according to anti-Semitic plan. For I was prejudging my Gentile fellow as to his understanding of me, and prejudging myself as to my understanding of him. This is unadulterated folly. This is not good Americanism. I have learnt my lesson.

Random Thoughts

"THE rabble craved for meat. Also the Israelites sed a howl, crying, 'Who will feed with meat?' . . .

"And Moses said unto the Lord: 'How n I get meat to feed all this people?'" (umbers XI).

Why didn't the Reubenites and the dites, the livestock growers of that day, l some of their sheep and cattle?

They were probably waiting for price control, being sure that Senators Doth- and Abiram would succeed with their nomic and political blackmail (See mbers XVI).

But Moses didn't surrender to the cat- interests. The Israelites had to be sat- ed for a whole month with a kind of cken called quail.

* * *

No event is as important as its inter- tation.

* * *

As the arch Jew-baiter Julius Streicher s being led to the gallows, he screamed: *urim Fest* 1946."

To make sure, apparently, that no one uld miss the parallel to the Biblical ry of the Book of Esther, Goering did ay with himself by taking cyanide.

That left only ten for the gallows, the me number as that of Haman's sons o were hanged.

All this gives a sinister significance to verse: "The days of Purim should t fail from among the Jews, nor the mory of them cease from their de- ndants" (Esther IX, 28).

* * *

My random thoughts were interrupted other day by a letter which I received from a friend of mine. He is a rabbi with a soul as white as snow, but he imagines it is scarlet with sin. The Day of Atonement, instead of absolving him of his sin, only accentuates it.

I asked him for permission to publish anonymously the part of his letter which is a post-Yom Kippur confession, and he granted it to me. Here is his *ashamnu*:

"When I recall the utter meaninglessness of the *Mahzor*, the writhing anguish of the congregation — poor dear souls who really want some spiritual nutriment — when I think how I am giving them a stone, when I know they are sincerely hungry for bread of the spirit, I feel desolate, I feel myself an utter fraud, a misguider.

"Merely to patch that *Mahzor* is of little or no use. The whole business is so out of tune with our needs, our wants, our hungers. . . .

"So you see, here I am in my fifty-second year of life, in my twenty-seventh year of the rabbinate, a discontented, unhappy fellow who seethes with inner rebellion, feels like a 'heel,' although a religious one, and would sweep away with one annihilating gesture the whole mess on our hands. I am not made happier when my people come to me with complaints about the services and the meaninglessness of most of what is said, sung, prayed.

"I, too, would like to have peace of mind, but no book gives it to me. I am moving into old age with a feeling of wasteland in my heart. A hell of a way to begin a New Year in a world like this, at a time like this, and people, just plain

decent people wanting help—and from me!"

A letter like this is a call to the rabbinate, the rabbinate makers and the rabbinate users to do not merely random but concentrated thinking.

* * *

The only thinking that will lead to the effective use of moral energy as well as to the civilized use of atomic energy is the kind that is not fettered by inertia or vested interest.

What Oscar Wilde said about freedom in art is even more true of freedom of thought.

"When a community or a government of any kind attempts to dictate to the artist what he is to do, art either entirely vanishes, or becomes stereotyped, or degenerates into a low and ignoble craft."

The only thing that remotely resembles community or government in American Jewish life is either a synagogue group or a Zionist group.

When a synagogue group excommunicates from Judaism any one who dares to publish a non-traditional form of prayer-book, it reduces Judaism to "a low and ignoble" form of religion.

When a Zionist group tries to suppress any questioning of its policies and demands of its adherents that they hew to "the line," or they will be denounced as "quislings" and traitors, it reduces Zionism to "a low and ignoble" form of power.

* * *

So long as religion is the trade of the clergy, trade will be the religion of the laity.

* * *

A most illuminating observation on the difference between Hebraism and Hellenism is made by Z. Waslawsky in a recent issue of the Hebrew periodical *Moznayim*. "The ancient Hebrew civilization," he says, "was moulded in an atmosphere of famine. On the other hand, the Greek civilization was fashioned in an atmosphere of abundance. Take away the motif of famine from the Sacred Scriptures and you have removed their savor, their tragedy, their symbolism. Remove from the Greek creations their wealth, the fullness and spaciousness of their times and you have removed their soul and their ever radiant light."

The foregoing observation gained tragic point when we were told the other day by Mrs. Belle J. Goldstein, national president of the Mizrachi Women's Organization, that when Jewish children first came to the Mizrachi shelters in Palestine, "they stole bread from the table, hiding it under their mattresses against the day when there might be no more bread."

But even famine gets to a point where one is fed up on it.

* * *

The "eternal feminine" has also its Jewish version. The following two instances indicate that it has already intruded itself into the Jewish problem.

One is a situation in a city in the far West. When the campaigns for funds would reach that city in former years, a large dinner would be held to start off with initial contributions from the most generous donors. Recently that has proved to be impracticable. The reason is that many if not most of the prospective donors are married to Gentile women, who object to attending Jewish dinners.

The second case is that of a Jewish Center. The director, who happens to be an affirmative Jew, succeeded in getting the young men who belong to the Center to hold the Seder at the Center. He was surprised to learn, however, that they wanted it to be an all-men's affair. When he asked them why they didn't want to

their young lady friends, he was that it was not good social form to ar "too religious." They would be rded as *"shlemiels"* by their lady ds.

* * *

good illustration of how essential it know the context of a statement, if want to be sure that we understand tatement properly, is the following: ecently a reviewer quoted with great nnity something Napoleon had said, ough he was revealing a side to Na-on's nature we never suspected. Ad-ing his Minister of Education, Na-on is supposed to have said, "Do you , Fontanes, what astonishes me most is world? The inability of force to e anything. In the long run, the d is always beaten by the spirit." id by a Lincoln, this would rightly ken to imply that brute force, such Napoleon and his recent imitators used against human beings, must in nd give way to justice and reason. that idea was far from Napoleon's even when he made the above statement. All that he was trying to tell Fontanes was that propaganda was a more potent means in the hands of dictators than bullets.

He wanted Fontanes to use education to introduce Napoleon worship into the schools—glorifying the French nation at the expense of other nations and to extol war at the expense of peace.

The terms "force" and "spirit" are neutral terms. Force is bad only when it is used lawlessly, and spirit is good only when it is compatible with reason and justice. On the other hand, the force a policeman uses to restrain a gangster is good, and the spirit of blind loyalty and patriotism displayed by fascists is bad. Therefore, when you hear or read of force and spirit, find out who used them and the occasion for using them before you either praise or condemn what they seem to express.

Even a term like "power politics" may have a perfectly innocent connotation. Thus, according to Norman Angell, "Power politics are the politics of not being overpowered."

M. M. K.

CORRESPONDENCE

A CRITIQUE OF RECONSTRUCTIONISM AND A REPLY

The following critique and reply are taken from the correspondence of Dr. Werner Bab of San Francisco, California, with Dr. Mordecai M. Kaplan. For the reader's convenience, we print the discussion point by point, giving Dr. Bab's critique in italics and Dr. Kaplan's reply in roman type. —EDITORS

constructionism offers a fair and, in the , a correct presentation of the facts of Jewish status in the United States. The osis is acceptable. The Reconstructionist sophy, however, the interpretation of the al situation, may be subject to criticism as to its theoretical contents and as to nclusions and practical consequences.

I. Theory

Reconstructionism looks for guidance de of the borders of Judaism. Its plat- includes the surrounding civilization, atically. Some of its concepts are purely ilationist. Still others are sacrifices to possible outside criticism. The repeated disappointments in Jewish history from such practices have proved the failure of assimilating, and sacrificing Jewish principles. Hence, this approach is not advisable.

You object to Reconstructionists' looking for guidance "outside of the borders of Judaism," and declare that some Reconstructionist concepts are "purely assimilationist" and contend that history has "proved the failure of assimilating, and sacrificing Jewish principles."

Our reply is that we must seek guidance wherever wisdom resides. No truth can be outside the borders of Judaism. Belief in a

universal God, if it has any meaning at all, must mean that truth and right know no boundaries. We deny that history has proved that it is a mistake to assimilate ideas that have not originated with our people. Let me remind you of Rabbinic Judaism's indebtedness to Babylonian and Persian lore and the indebetedness of Medieval Jewish philosophy to Moslem and Pagan Greek thought. We may object to the uncritical acceptance of alien standards for purely opportunistic considerations, but such an uncritical and planless acquiescence in the ideas and practices of the environment cannot be justly charged against Reconstructionism.

2. *The Jewish idea of God includes the notion that God cannot be defined (de-fined). Finis is the very opposite of the conception of God.*

You say that the "Jewish idea of God" includes the notion that God cannot be defined. How, without defining the Jewish conception of God, can you distinguish it from other conceptions or criticise Reconstructionist efforts to give meaning to the God idea as being out of accord with "the *Jewish* idea of God." Reconstructionism, from the viewpoint of Judaism as a civilization, denies that there is any one conception of God which may be characterized as Jewish. There are demonstrably many conflicting conceptions of God in our Torah literature. Reconstructionism stresses not a particular conception of God, but belief in God and the effort to enable that belief to function in life by harmonizing our conception of God with our conception of the world we live in. To avoid this effort is to encourage either superstition or atheism.

3. *The teaching of the Chosen People has never been nor is it now considered as unethical in the relationship with other groups or nations. Our religious philosophers always cherished this essential teaching as a moral obligation. This still stands. Purely Jewish ethics are submissible to changes, if at all, only by purely Jewish intrinsic ethical conceptions.*

You say that the "teaching of the Chosen People" has never been considered unethical, and that our religious philosophers always cherished this essential teaching as a moral obligation. That is true. It is equally true that other religions have made the same claim in behalf of their communions and that this has been a fertile cause of religious intolerance. I cannot understand what you mean when you speak of "purely Jewish ethics" that is "submissible to changes, if at all, only by purely Jewish intrinsic ethical conceptions." If ethics is the law of a universal God, how can we qualify the term by adjectives limiting it to a particular ethnic or religious community. you regard ethics as a subjective phenom and deny the objective validity of the n law? We may speak of Jewish ethics onl the sense of ethical standards adhered t advocated by Jews, but if we do, we realize that it is not Jewish adherenc ethical standards that makes them bin but that their being universally binding m them worthy of Jewish adherence. Our o tion to the doctrine of the Chosen Peop not merely an objection to the notion *Jews* are the chosen people; it is an objec to the notion that *any group* has a righ think of itself as possessing a superior n ure of divine grace which raises it necess above others and justifies it in regarding t as inferior.

4. *Jews have lived in time, all the o peoples in space. This made physical spiritual survival possible. This seems t the genuine criterion of Judaism as a civi tion. Reconstructionism and Zionism hav incorporate this idea into their teachings t successful.*

I hope that you will forgive me if I that it seems to me absurd to affirm "Jews have lived in time; all others in spa *Jews and all others* live in space-time. notion that Judaism can dispense with E Yisrael, an essentially spatial concept, and along with an unlocalized tradition and foothold on God's earth has done a worl mischief to our peple. Reconstructionism sists that the unity and integrity of the Je people wherever they may be is no less portant than the continuity of the Jewish dition in whatever stage of developmen may at the present moment be found.

5. *Advance of Judaism is the goal. reach it, we have to go ahead slowly, st fastly, very carefully, and with an unsurpa ble love. Love excludes academic thinking philosophic abstraction as primary postul Love means to be aware of the souls of li human beings, of their inner yearning, their deep-rooted feelings that withst psycho-analysis, of imponderabilia that are tive but cannot be grasped, of the millen dream; that the Chosen People was given Torah by the un-de-finable one God wh ethical teachings are unsurpassed, and w out whom Life is without meaning.*

To advance Judaism, we must indeed ahead slowly, steadfastly, very carefully, with an unsurpassable love." But how can be sure that we are going ahead and not s ping back without orientation, and how we find our bearings without resort to "a demic thinking, and philosophic abstractio We must love Judaism, but love it wisely.

ender our critical faculty, our love of will become a chauvinistic self-love utterly incongruous with that love of which we must give our whole heart, ble soul and our whole might.

II Practice

econstructionism is based and can be od only as being derived from Re- d Zionism. They are its forerunners. no criticism in itself, but it suggests shortcomings and partial failures of ligious and political movements may ed for in Reconstructionism too. On r hand, Reconstructionism has a strong ative tendency. In fact, its religious to a layman's mind, are not too far regular Conservative synagogue service. anges in the Reconstructionist syna- re not decisively important for the Jew, as they are derived from a philos- r the few, not for the many. They attract crowds, nor do they appeal to ho are indifferent.

argument that Reconstructionism can rstood only as being derived from Re- d Zionism is subject to challenge, but, we accept it for argument's sake, it follow that the shortcoming and par- ures of these religious and political nts may be looked for in Reconstruc- Whatever defects or virtues Recon- ism may possess, it is entitled to be on its own merits and not on the r demerits of its predecessors.

eny that the changes in the Reconstruc- ynagogue are derived from a philoso- the few and are, therefore, not de- important for the average Jew. Re- tionism is not a philosophy for the t philosophies influence the many only ey have been embodied in forms of onal life, and that requires time. No ve philosophy of Jewish life is seriou- rtained by great numbers. Adherence rm, Conservatism or Orthodoxy is based on a personal philosophy, but on personal predilections in which hic thinking plays little part. At any e validity of a religious doctrine is be judged by the numbers that accept

side from the synagogue, Reconstruc- has recommended education and cre- tivities as means of survival. Educa- asset and value for survival is essential never been disputed in theory by sur- Practically, Reconstructionism has been able to educate large numbers of and adults. It has not been more successful in this respect than any other movement or organization.

Reconstructionists may not have been more successful in extending the area of Jewish education than Jews who profess other doctrines, but we are convinced that a Jewish education along Reconstructionist lines offers a better preparation for living as a Jew under modern conditions than one which does not conform to Reconstructionist principles. For only Reconstructionism takes adequate cognizance of the need of integrating all the experiences of the pupil, both those derived from his American affiliation and those derived from his Jewish affiliation in a single harmonious pattern.

3. *Creative activities can be sponsored only to a very small extent. From the masses, when the time is ripe, a creative genius arises. Creative measures, such as family ceremonies, music, architecture, do not work if the essentials are weak or missing. Literature is today being produced in America more than at any other time or place: it is reporting, analyzing, to some degree commenting and interpreting. But it is not creative. Creative activities can fruitfully come only out of deep yearning, complete honesty, not looking left or right, only if traditional thinking and a sound evaluation of development are combined in a mind that loves Judaism more than anything else, a mind fully appreciating that ethical monotheism is a unique experience of the Chosen People.*

We agree that creative activities along Jewish lines can proceed only from a deep love of Judaism, but the converse is equally true that a deep love of Judaism can be most fully experienced by those who have been given an opportunity to express themselves creatively as Jews. The limitation of opportunities for intellectual and esthetic self-expression was among the principal causes of the abandonment of Judaism by many gifted personalities in the early days of the Emancipation, and it is today responsible for the alienation of a goodly proportion of our educated classes. The importance of efforts to stimulate Jewish cultural and artistic creativity should not be minimized.

4. *The Church is a child of the Synagogue. But the present tendency seems to make the Synagogue a step-child of the Church. Christianity has been a failure in practical ethics for almost 2000 years; Judaism has proved its eternal values. It has survived the attack of unbelief in supernaturalism. The Synagogue as institution may be even dismissed in the future—voluntarily or involuntarily—as the two Temples and Jewish statehood were—without, however, dismissing education and*

creativeness. But the decline of the Synagogue is not identical with the decline of Judaism.

I do not understand what you mean by observing that the present tendency is to make the Synagogue a step-child of the Church. Do you imply that Reconstructionism falls in with such a tendency? If so, in what way? You are correct in observing that the decline of the synagogue is not identical with the decline of Judaism. Nevertheless a realistic appraisal of the conditions of Jewish life in America will make it clear that all other organs of Jewish life in the diaspora are mainly dependent on the synagogue for their maintenance. Jews who are unaffiliated with the synagogue finally lose interest in the whole problem of how to live as a Jew, and the whole content of their Judaism tends to be merely resistance to anti-Semitism. The synagogue, whatever its defects—and Reconstructionism has discussed these with relentless candor—is still the most vital organ in Jewish life in the diaspora. It fully justifies the attention that Reconstructionism has given to its problems.

AN OLD CAMP CUSTOM

Sirs:

Miss Avalon Krukin, Field Secretary of the Intercollegiate Zionist Federation of America, told a story at the recent Zionist Seminar sponsored by that organization at Camp Chi, Antioch, Illinois, which deserves a much wider audience than the 150-odd college students who attended the Seminar.

It seems that one of our active Jewish communal workers took a leisurely mid-summer vacation traveling through the Far West. On a drive through an Indian Reservation in Colorado he stopped off to pay a visit to the local tribe, and was warmly and cordially received. His host proudly showed him about the reservation, pointing out the libraries, schools, hospitals and all the other modern facilities which the tribe had built or obtained. Mention was made of a summer camp for Indian children located on the shores of a nearby lake, and our visitor expressed a desire to visit the camp.

Upon arriving at the site he discovered that the Indians had erected one of the most beautiful children's camps he had ever seen, modern and progressive to the fullest extent. What was his amazement, however, upon walking through the shaded groves and along the camp lanes to discover that the various buildings on the spot bore names such as the following: Chaim Nachman Bialik Library, Theodor Herzl Recreation Hall, Yehuda Hale Lodge, Max Nordau Guest House and so on. He turned to his host and asked for an explanation.

"When we first decided to erect this camp," the Indian began, "we wanted it to be as complete and as perfect as possible. Upon inquiry we learned that some of the finest children's camps in the country are sponsored by the Jews and operated either as private commercial enterprises or under the auspices of Jewish Centers and Y.M.H.A.'s. Accordingly, we dispatched a committee to visit a dozen or more of these model camps and make careful note of the various ideas which we could incorporate into our project. It was not long before our committee discovered, to their gratification and surprise, that it is the custom in such Jewish camps to name the buildings somewhat as follows: Iroquois Lodge, Mohawk Athletic House, Seminole Library, Pawnee Boat House, Navajo Mess Hall, Choctaw Dormitory and so on. Our committee was deeply touched by this obvious expression of esteem and friendship for our people, and so you see—" he waved his hand at the buildings on the shores of the Indian Lake—"we have decided to return the compliment."

CARL ALPERT,
New York City

Young Zionists Resent Political Line of Emergency Council

Sirs:

This is just a brief note to let you know how much I enjoyed the editorial in the latest *Reconstructionist* entitled, "A Disservice to the Zionist Cause."

I have been getting the impression lately that the one thing that Zionist leaders were not doing was thinking seriously about the implications of their current political action approach. It is indeed refreshing to read your point of view so well-stated and sensible.

I do not have too much of an idea as to what the adult Zionist bodies really feel on this matter of Zionist pressure on the Democratic Party alone; however, I do know that the vast majority of young Zionists are ardent liberals and consequently the current line of the Emergency Council has created numerous intellectual difficulties.

HERBERT M. LUKASHOK